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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses college admissions tests and their tendency to discriminate against blacks and Chicanos. Evidence to support this thesis is presented from two perspectives--the level of reading difficulty of the tests and the restricted dialectal characteristic of the language used in the tests. The Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)-Verbal readability test results are discussed in relation to Chicanos and Southern nonmetropolitan blacks. The dialectal features of admissions tests are discussed in terms of their range of verbal and discourse skills and the analytical skills involved in the SAT-Verbal are compared with a framework of basic discourse and semantic skills. Also presented are conclusions and recommendations which discuss validity, predictability, the college experience, and the job hiring situation. (WR)

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# CAN WE GET RID OF DIALECTAL DISCRIMINATION IN COLLEGE ADMISSION TESTS?

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While giving a talk to high school teachers in Abilene this past November, advocating Mr. Sledd's theory of pandialectalism or the NCTE's right to speak platform, I was confronted with this objection of the teachers: "What you preach might be all right theoretically, but it won't work practically because we have to spend a good deal of our time teaching 'standard' English because that's what college admission tests are based on--a heavy dose of choices of correct usage." I promised the teachers I would try to do something about their plight. This panel is part of my promise.

Since that time I have tried to learn something about college admission tests. I soon found that I had a good deal to learn--indeed I feel more inadequate by the hour. Many of the studies are well beyond my extremely modest knowledge of statistics. However, I feel that the average English teacher can bring to this problem a concern about admission tests from the standpoint of their linguistic makeup and an ability to analyze the language and discourse used in these testing vehicles. Possibly these sentiments and capabilities can be of some assistance to the test makers.

I have also come to respect both the abilities and the moral sensibilities of many of the researchers for both the ETS and the ACT programs. Indeed, I am of the opinion that S. A. Kendrick's study in 1968, "The Coming Segregation of Our Selective Colleges," is one of the most sympathetic pleas for some way out of the impasse I have yet encountered.[1]

The impasse is created by the attempt to construct an instrument which will adequately predict college and job success and yet not discriminate against vast segments of our body politic.

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It is, however, unfortunately my belief that the impasse does exist. The SAT-Verbal test and the ACT-English Usage test do predict present college and job success; but they also discriminate massively against Blacks and Chicanos. I shall attempt to give some evidence for this position from two major perspectives--the level of reading difficulty of the tests and the restricted dialectal characteristic of the language used in the tests. After sketching this evidence, I shall make some proposals whereby the present situation might be improved, but I must admit I am deeply pessimistic about their being heeded.

I. LEVEL OF READING DIFFICULTY OF THE TESTS.

My first reaction (and that of two of my colleagues working independently on the tests) was one of astonishment at the level of reading difficulty. To check on my perceptions, I applied the McLaughlin formula of readability to the SAT-Verbal I was sent to examine.[2] All of the nine reading passages, judged by the formula, checked out to an average reading difficulty level of 16+ or senior college level. An alternate SAT-Verbal test struck me as even higher, but I didn't check it by the formula.

The ACT-English Usage reading passages tested out at 13+ or freshman college level difficulty. The English Composition Test tested out at the same level of difficulty.

How far above the students' levels of achievement are these tests, particularly the SAT-Verbal? Certainly the most comprehensive figures for verbal ability and reading comprehension at a national level are the scores to be found in the Coleman report. Table 3.121.1 and 3.121.2 are reproductions of these findings from that report. (See Figure 1)[3]

Table 3.121.1.—Verbal ability: Number of standard deviations below and number of grade levels behind the average white in metropolitan Northeast, for all groups

| Race and area | Standard deviation below | | | Grade levels behind | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 6 | 9 | 12 | 6 | 9 | 12 |
| White, nonmetropolitan: | | | | | | |
| South | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 1.5 |
| Southwest | .2 | .2 | .2 | .3 | .4 | .8 |
| North | .1 | .2 | .3 | .2 | .4 | .9 |
| White, metropolitan: | | | | | | |
| Northeast | | | | | | |
| Midwest | .1 | .0 | .1 | .1 | .0 | .4 |
| South | .3 | .2 | .3 | .5 | .5 | .9 |
| Southwest | .3 | .3 | .2 | .5 | .6 | .7 |
| West | .2 | .1 | .1 | .3 | .3 | .5 |
| Negro, nonmetropolitan: | | | | | | |
| South | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 3.9 | 5.2 |
| Southwest | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 2.0 | 3.3 | 4.7 |
| North | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.9 | 2.7 | 4.2 |
| Negro, metropolitan: | | | | | | |
| Northeast | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 2.4 | 3.3 |
| Midwest | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 3.3 |
| South | 1.3 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 4.2 |
| Southwest | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 2.9 | 4.3 |
| West | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 3.9 |
| Mexican American | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 3.5 |
| Puerto Rican | 1.7 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 2.7 | 2.9 | 3.6 |
| Indian American | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.7 | 2.1 | 3.5 |
| Oriental American | .6 | .4 | .5 | .9 | 1.0 | 1.6 |

Table 3.121.2.—Reading comprehension: Number of standard deviations below and number of grade levels behind the average white in metropolitan Northeast, for all groups

| Race and area | Standard deviation below | | | Grade levels behind | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 6 | 9 | 12 | 6 | 9 | 12 |
| White, nonmetropolitan: | | | | | | |
| South | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 1.0 |
| Southwest | .1 | .1 | .1 | .1 | .3 | .5 |
| North | .1 | .1 | .1 | .2 | .3 | .5 |
| White, metropolitan: | | | | | | |
| Northeast | | | | | | |
| Midwest | 0 | 0 | .1 | .1 | .1 | .3 |
| South | .1 | .2 | .1 | .3 | .4 | .4 |
| Southwest | .2 | .2 | .1 | .4 | .7 | .4 |
| West | .1 | .2 | .2 | .2 | .5 | .8 |
| Negro, nonmetropolitan: | | | | | | |
| South | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 2.7 | 3.7 | 4.9 |
| Southwest | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 2.4 | 3.3 | 4.5 |
| North | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 3.8 |
| Negro, metropolitan: | | | | | | |
| Northeast | .8 | .9 | .8 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 2.9 |
| Midwest | .8 | .8 | .8 | 1.8 | 2.3 | 2.8 |
| South | .9 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 2.1 | 3.0 | 3.9 |
| Southwest | .9 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 2.1 | 3.0 | 4.1 |
| West | .9 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 2.1 | 3.1 | 3.8 |
| Mexican-American | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 3.3 |
| Puerto Rican | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.1 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 3.7 |
| Indian American | .9 | .8 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 3.2 |
| Oriental American | .4 | .3 | .5 | 1.0 | .9 | 1.6 |

In these tables, the norm is the average graduate from a metropolitan school in the Northeast: such a graduate has what is defined as twelfth grade reading comprehension and verbal ability. The grade levels behind this norm for the various ethnic and geographic groups are indicated in the last column at the right. Thus, for example, Southern nonmetropolitan Blacks are 5.2 grade levels below in verbal ability and 4.9 grade levels in reading comprehension. This means that a typical nonmetropolitan Black from the South facing the SAT-Verbal test is reading material that is of senior college difficulty with a verbal ability of a sixth grader in the spring. In other words, there is a discrepancy of nine years between the test and his achievement level. For reading comprehension, the discrepancy is somewhat over eight years. The situation would be comparable to asking a third grader to read tenth grade texts.

Chicanos are not much better off. The typical Mexican-American (see Table 3.121.2) graduates from high school with a reading ability of an advanced freshman in high school.

Reading experts have terms to indicate the degree of facility with which students can handle material. Outside reading assignments, such as novels, short stories, which the student can handle with no external help are said to be of an <u>independent</u> level. Textbooks which make sense to the student with teacher or tutorial help are said to be of an <u>instructional</u> level.[4] Material more than half of which is unintelligible to the student is called the "complete frustration" level. By these norms, all of the tests mentioned above are well beyond "complete frustration" levels for these minority groups at large.

What are the results when high school seniors from these minority groups take these empyrean tests? A study in Texas two years ago gives us some idea,

for at least one Southern state. Figure 2 is a reproduction of Table K from this study:[5]

FIGURE 2: TABLE K: Percentage of seniors obtaining composite standard scores within various score intervals

| Population group | Year | Composite score range | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males | | | Females | | |
| | | 1-15 | 16-20 | 21-36 | 1-15 | 16-20 | 21-36 |
| All seniors* | 1967 | 43% | 25% | 32% | 46% | 29% | 25% |
| | 1971 | 50 | 24 | 26 | 52 | 28 | 20 |
| | Change | +7 | -1 | -6 | +6 | -1 | -5 |
| Ethnic group: | | | | | | | |
| Anglo | 1967 | 30% | 29% | 41% | 32% | 35% | 33% |
| | 1971 | 31 | 30 | 39 | 32 | 37 | 31 |
| Mexican American | 1967 | 71 | 21 | 8 | 80 | 16 | 4 |
| | 1971 | 76 | 17 | 7 | 82 | 15 | 3 |
| Black | 1967 | 87 | 10 | 3 | 86 | 12 | 2 |
| | 1971 | 86 | 11 | 3 | 87 | 11 | 2 |

*Includes all seniors who completed the battery, without regard to their response (or non-response) to the ethnicity item.

The table is significant. At selective institutions which admit students on the basis of ACT scores (generally 18), only about 6% of the Blacks would be admitted and only about 12% of the Chicanos. This is massive discrimination. In many junior colleges which do not have an open door policy, the admission score is 16-17. This still rules out 89% of the Blacks and 80% of the Chicanos.

The SAT-Verbal is obviously a more difficult test. In Texas at least, it tends to be favored by the more selective institutions. What are the results? I have only one set of comparable SAT scores, at a complete state level. And what further information I do have sketches a gloomy picture. In Georgia, for example, in 1964-65, all of the Blacks entering the Georgia college and univer-

sity system averaged 266 on the SAT-Verbal: this contrasts to the national mean of 473 for that year--as you are probably all aware, SAT scores have steadily declined since 1959-60.[7] In Texas, to give another example, the average score on the SAT-Verbal at the University of Texas at Austin last year was 540; the national norm was 445; the norm of a private Black school in Texas was 340, about what one would predict from the studies of Coleman and Jensen.[8]

How many Blacks or Chicanos could make the 400 score on the SAT-Verbal, usually considered the minimum for "selective" institutions?[9] In Georgia, for the year given above, 3% of the Blacks made 400 or above. Kendricks' prediction of almost complete segregation in selective colleges has practically come to pass: probably more than 90% of the graduating Blacks (don't mention dropouts) are ruled out of such institutions.

High school counselors know these facts, at least in isolation. They can tell a Black with a 340 SAT-Verbal what his chances of graduating from the University of Texas at Austin are--that's what the predictability tables are all about. So counselors send the Blacks and Chicanos where they might have a chance: predominantly Black colleges (50% of Blacks go to these) or junior colleges with an open door policy. This, for example, explains why Texas A & M has 1% and the University of Texas at Austin 1 1/2% on their campuses, whereas Blacks constitute 7.7% and Chicanos 14.6% of the junior college population in the state's schools.[10] These two figures, incidentally, are not too far removed from the percentage of the population of these groups in Texas. In the Far West, 71% of the Blacks enrolled in public colleges are in junior colleges.[11]

## DIALECTAL FEATURES OF THE TESTS.

My second contention is that these tests are not comprehensive tests of verbal ability--they test only a very restricted range of verbal and discourse skills. And the skills they test happen to be the skills of the WASP subculture. The Blacks, and to some extent, the Chicano subcultures are, perforce, heavily oral. Blacks excel in certain oral and aural media which sometimes do not even have their counterparts in Anglo culture. These facts are so commonplace one hardly has to document them. The speaking and listening skills involved in these media are sophisticated and far-ranging.

How far-ranging are the skills tested by the SAT-Verbal or the ACT-English Usage? To test this, I compared the analytical skills involved in the SAT-Verbal with my own framework of a full range of basic discourse and semantic skills. The results are presented in Figure 3 and Figure 4. Figure 3 attempts to show the type of analytical skill involved in answering the questions at the discourse level. Each question involves an art, a medium, a mode, and an aim (occasionally in some questions modes overlapped and so did aims; in these cases I attempted to discern the dominant mode, as Morris calls it).[12] The arts are commonly accepted divisions; the media categories partly follow James Moffett's orders of discourse, though not totally;[13] the modes are based on Cicero and Bain, often called forms of discourse; the aims follow many anthropologists and language scholars.[14]

FIGURE 3: Discourse Analysis of the SAT-Verbal Test

ART Involved (Reading, Writing, Speaking, Listening)

Reading--all 130 items.

MEDIA Involved (Individual, Small Group, Large Group, Mass)

Book or periodical equivalent--all 130 items (all nonfiction)

MODE Involved

Narration--perception of cause-effect relationships or character analyses--56 items

Description--perception of structural relation of part to whole, part to part, etc.--10 items

Classification--defining, classifying, dividing, etc.--62 items.

Evaluating--making critical judgments as to goodness or badness--2 items.

AIM Involved

Inductive inference to generalizations--22 items

Deductive inference to conclusions from given statements--68 items.

Information, fact finding--40 items.

Exploratory analysis, i.e., original testing or positing of hypotheses--none

Persuasion or propaganda analyses--none

Literary perceptions of structures--none

Analyses of expressions of self or group aspirations--1 item.

It seems patently clear from this evidence that certain discourse skills are totally ignored, while others are heavily recurrent. It does not test a person's sensitivity to others' self-expression, a person's awareness of propaganda and persuasion techniques, a person's ability to generate a hypothesis,

a person's perception of literary structures. In media, it tests acquaintance with only one: the book, ignoring myriads of others. It ignores listening skills, writing skills, and speaking skills.

Finally, Figure 4 attempts to make some basic semantic distinctions. Nearly all of these are quite traditional. Referent indicates the kind of reality referred to; referend means the kind of term used to refer; referral means the relationship existing between term and reality. Most of the subcategories are self-explanatory--with the possible exception of metaphor. There are many analogies in the test; for example: rhododendron is to plant as oak is to tree or as child is to parent, etc. These I have classified as metaphors, though many literary critics might cringe at this taxonomy. For dialect levels I have used the categories of Martin Joos for formality and age levels.[15] The jargon scale is a degree scale indicating no, little, some, quite a bit, a good deal of jargon involved in the question.

FIGURE 4: A Semantic Analysis of the SAT-Verbal Test

REFERENTS
- Abstract--111 items
- Concrete--19 items
- Serious--130 items
- Humorous--none
- Denotative--126 items
- Connotative--4 items

REFEREND
- Literal--92 items
- Figurative--
  - Paradox--2 items
  - Metaphor--34 items
  - Symbolism--1 item
  - Synecdoche--1 item
  - Euphemism--1 item
  - Irony, personification, hyperbole, understatement, etc.--none

REFERRAL
- Univocity (one to one relationship)--130 items
- Synonymy--11 items
- Antonomy--46 items
- Anomaly, ambiguity--none

FIGURE 4: A Semantic Analysis of the SAT-Verbal Test (Continued)

DIALECT LEVEL

Formality

Intimate--none
Casual--9 items
Consultative--18 items
Formal--103 items
Frozen--none

Age

Infant--none
Child--none
Adolescent--14 items
Mature--116 items
Senile--none

Jargon Level

No jargon involved--102 items
A little jargon--19 items
Appreciable jargon--1 item
Considerable jargon--7 items
Very heavy in jargon--1 item

Education Level

By the McLaughlin scale, all nine reading sections, taken as a whole, averaged out to grade 16--senior year in college.

These figures make it abundantly clear that the language of the test is highly abstract, serious (even grim), heavily denotative, heavily literal and only mildly figurative (even less if the numerous analogies are subtracted from the metaphors), concerned with univocal references of terms and within this area, concentrating on antonyms to an alarming degree. Dialectally, the language is formal, mature, not very jargonish, and of a high educational level.

The test again leaves much to be explored. Persons with a gift for the figurative could never be detected by this type of test, for example. The test completely bypasses a person's sense of humor, his sense of the connotative, his awareness of ambiguities, etc.

## III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I trust that by now it is clear that some evidence does exist to show the deceptive reading difficulty level of the SAT-Verbal and the restricted range of verbal abilities, both semantic and discourse, tested by the instrument. What can be done about these deficiencies?

In the first place, the test makers probably would not really mind if there were deficiencies in the range of skills assessed or if the test would be really too difficult. Granted, being subjected to such a test is an unpleasant experience for an hour and a half, the test finally does what it is supposed to do: make discriminations among those aspiring to college careers and jobs contingent to college careers in terms of their probable success or failure. A test which measures what it is supposed to measure has validity. And there have been scores of validity studies of both the SAT and the ACT. Far be it for me to attack these statisticians on their own territory. But I think the battle can be waged elsewhere.

Four components can be distinguished in the problem of predictability: the pre-college experience which prepares one for a college admission test, the test itself, the college experience about which predictability is desired, and the jobs contingent to these successful college experiences.

Kendricks, in the 1968 article which I cited earlier, calls explicit attention to three of these issues and implies the fourth. He says,

> Without elaborating the point, verbal ability apparently is central to almost all kinds of college work as now conducted.... But usually verbal ability runs a close second to the school record in predicting college grades, and this is true in a wide variety of educational enterprises.
>
> We come to the question, therefore, of changing verbal ability at the high school level.[16] (his italics)

He goes on to cite research which very strongly supports the contention that verbal ability does not change much with schooling; it is an ability, not an achievement. And he says, "To be blunt about it, we don't know of any method by which a twelfth grader's verbal ability can be greatly improved."[17]

He then moves on to the third component of the problem, the fact that grading in college is largely a matter of assessing verbal abilities.

> Most important, verbal ability is what is likely to be evaluated by the college in assigning grades and awarding degrees.[18] (his italics)

It is for this reason that the test is a good predictor and is therefore not biased. However, he then qualifies his conclusion:

> But before we congratulate ourselves, let us notice that the reason the verbal test is not biased is that the college programs often are biased. The tests predict the kinds of evaluations that the colleges will make of their students after instruction. That is what the tests must do. However, in many instances the fact that both the instruction given and the evaluation made by the colleges is heavily dependent upon verbal ability is bias in precisely the same sense that selection of truck drivers with a verbal tests is bias [i.e., rather than testing their driving abilities].[19] (his italics)

As long as the colleges continue to test practically everything with verbal tests, so long will the admission vehicles test the same ability. So "unless something unimaginable takes place," he concludes, we must face the segregation of our selective colleges.[20]

Now I believe that if one puts together some of the suggestions of Mr. Kendricks and what we know about the culture of the Blacks and Chicanos, we can imagine the unimaginable.

Let us start with the third of the components: the college experience. The typical college course is even more biased toward a restricted type of verbal ability than Mr. Kendricks suggests. What are the ingredients of the typical college course: a textbook is adopted, a professor lectures about the

textbook and other books and articles to students, often from a lectern, he assigns outside readings, there is a term paper, and finally there is a written final exam. Notice the reading-writing bias of the whole structure. No wonder only a person with good reading abilities passes such an obstacle course.

Educators have been preaching to us for years about the ineffectiveness of the lecture method and the textbook-oriented course, asking us to engage more in a discovery method of teaching which would involve the students more and which would involve more group dynamics. If we did listen to the pedagogues, we would end up with instructional methods better suited to everybody, but with this important by-product: they would be particularly more effective with the minority groups who come from an oral culture. What I am suggesting is that the typical college instructional methods I outlined above: textbook, lecture, outside readings, term paper, final exam, are as discriminatory as the admissions tests, so that we teachers using such methods should not be casting the first stone at the test makers.

I hope I am not interpreted as advocating the abandonment of textbooks, readings, and written final exams. What I am suggesting is these methods can be modified in many classroom situations by the inculcation of oral and other media techniques with consequent better learning situations for everybody, and particularly groups from an oral culture. In some kinds of courses, naturally, the written verbal ability will still be of supreme importance. But when we can exploit the oral powers of the Blacks, for instance, why not do so and at the same time improve our teaching methods?

If instructional and testing techniques can be changed at the college level, it might be profitable to consider the instructional methods at the secondary and elementary levels also. When Blacks are thrust from an oral

culture into an alien written culture in the elementary schools, it is no wonder they come off second best. However, if the oral component is retained in the instruction and in the testing, evidence exists to show that the Blacks and Chicanos improve more than when reading-writing techniques of evaluation are used.

Consider the following figures from the Coleman report. Let me remind you that an oral test was used for the testing of verbal ability in the first grade and third grade tests, but that the verbal ability tests used in the sixth grade, ninth grade, and twelfth grade were written (in effect, they were very similar to reading tests). The Figure for the nonmetropolitan Black in the South (Figure 3.12.6) shows a remarkable advance in verbal ability from the first to the third grade--much more significant, it might be pointed out, than his white counterpart (Figure 3.12.14).But the drop from the third grade to the sixth grade is the largest single gain or loss recorded in any of the charts in the book. Although not quite as dramatic, the graph for the Blacks in the metropolitan South follows precisely the same curvature: a substantial gain, again, more significant than the white Southern counterpart, then a disastrous drop. My suggestion, of course, is that there really wasn't a loss in verbal ability of the magnitude registered on the curve, but that there is a drop caused by the change in the measuring instrument. This phenomenon is true in all but two of the areas: nonmetropolitan North and West (Figure 3.12.8 in Coleman) and metropolitan Midwest (Figure 3.12.2 in Coleman).

This leads to the hypothesis that it is difficult to generalize to a single monolithic "Black Culture." In any case, the use of a heavy dose of oral instructional methods and testing vehicles might be less discriminatory at the elementary and secondary levels also. This is more expensive because it requires more teachers and tutors and especially because oral testing is

much more expensive than testing in reading.

And the present political atmosphere does not lead me to believe that the massive monies given to education during the Johnson administration will again be showered upon the minority groups in the near future. The President has cut such monies to a trickle, and the House--at the lobbying insistence of the President in part--last week passed an education bill with a strong anticibussing amendment. Finally, the judicial branch of the process, the Nixon Supreme Court, has already shown what it feels about educational opportunity in the Rodriguez vs. Edgewood case. Here again, education and politics converge. Nixon and the robber barons, however, can't last forever.

In the meantime we can avoid some horrible mistakes in the elementary and secondary schools. One such error which could be cataclysmic for Blacks and Chicanos, is to encourage the use of learning packets which each student pursues at his own speed in his own private cubicle; such packets almost entirely eliminate speaking and listening, discussion, group dynamics, etc., from the learning situation. They are encouraged under the banner of IGE (Individually Guided Education). One of my colleagues has called them correspondence courses in residence; I call them <u>solitary confinement</u>. And I worry about their proliferation around the country. They are an example of a methodology which has some merit in some cases, but massive doses of it could be disastrous to all students--and doubly disastrous to minority groups.

We come now to the admissions tests. Can we get rid of dialectal discrimination in college admissions tests? That is the title of this panel. We could, to some extent, if we wanted to pay the price. We could not reasonably expect to give a speaking test to 1,014,853 students or even to the roughly 71,000 Blacks and 10,000 Chicanos who took the test in 1973. But at least their listening skills might be tested, since these are part of an oral culture.

FIGURE 3.12.6

*NEGRO PUPILS IN NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS—SOUTH REGION*

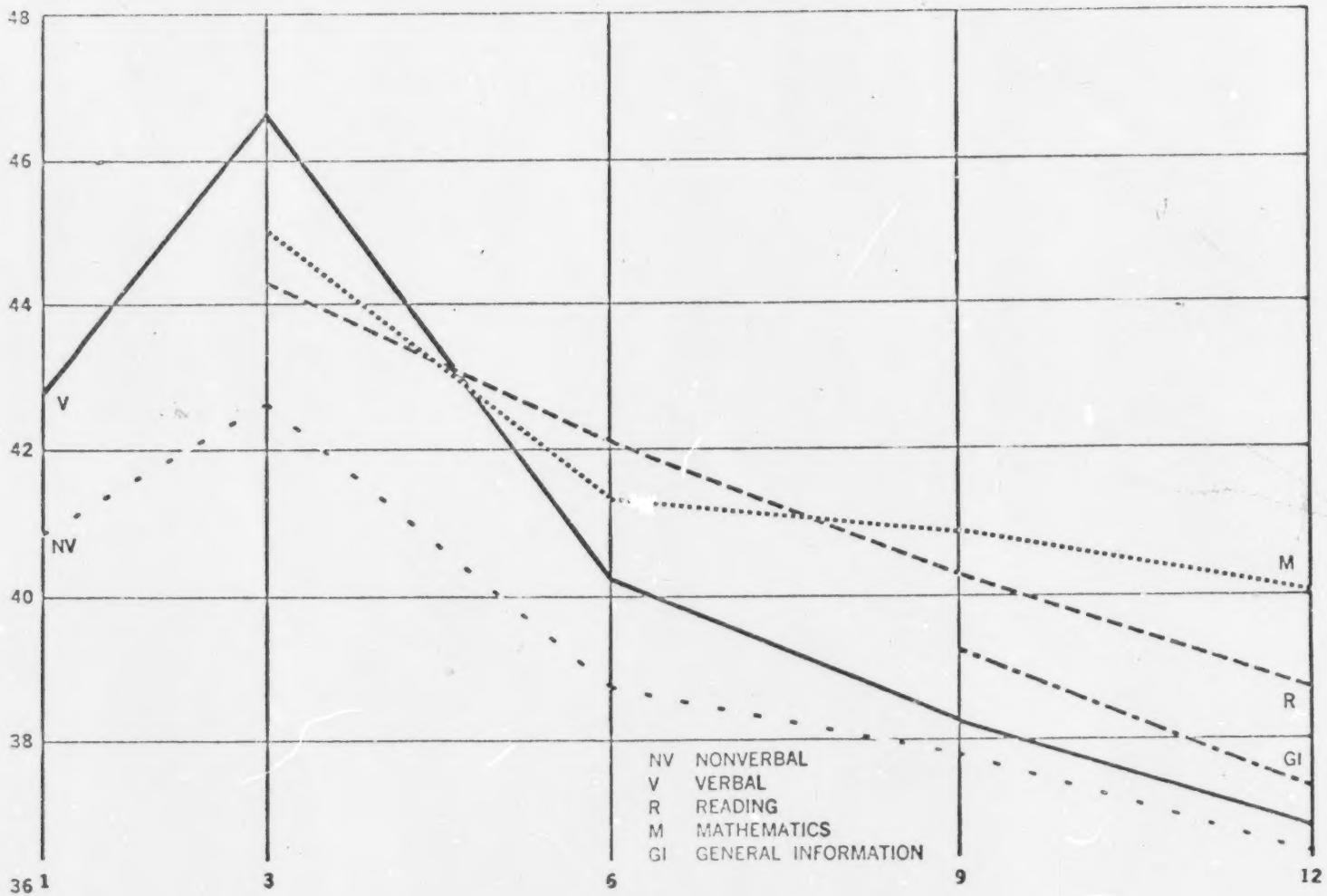


FIGURE 3.12.14
*WHITE PUPILS IN NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS—SOUTHEAST REGION*

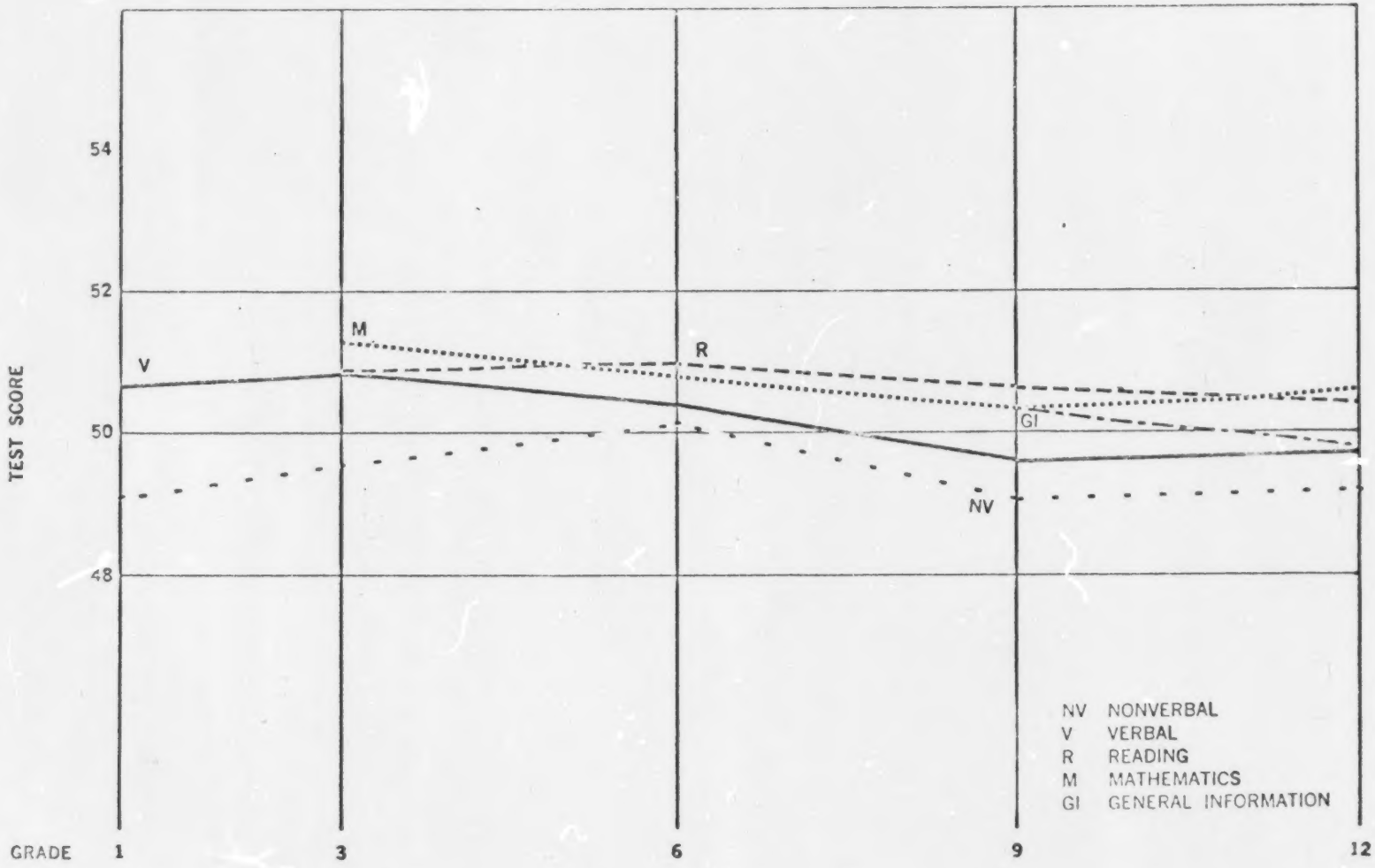


FIGURE 3.12.3

*NEGRO PUPILS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS – SOUTH REGION*

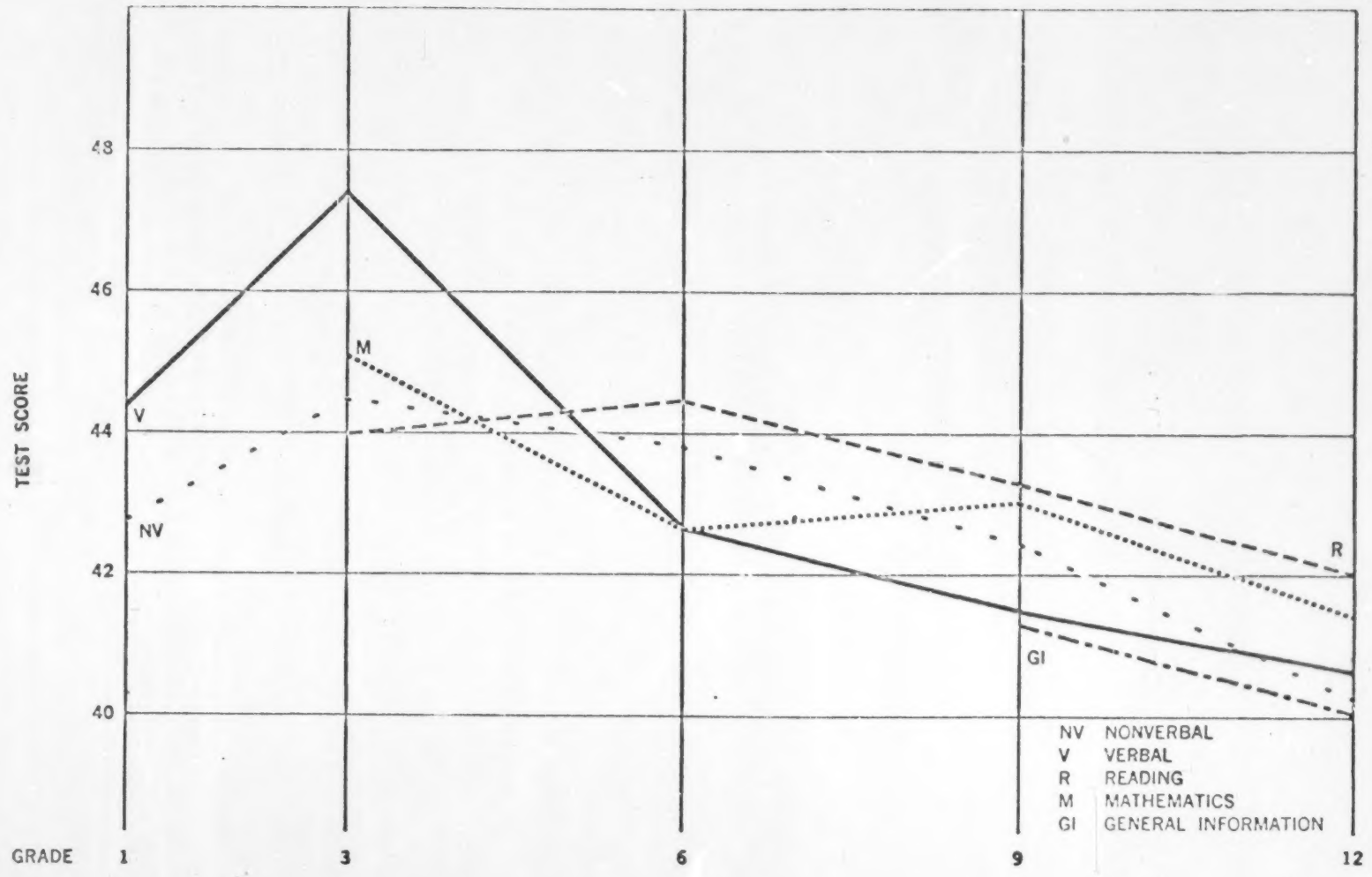


FIGURE 3.12.7
*NEGRO PUPILS IN NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS--SOUTHWEST REGION*

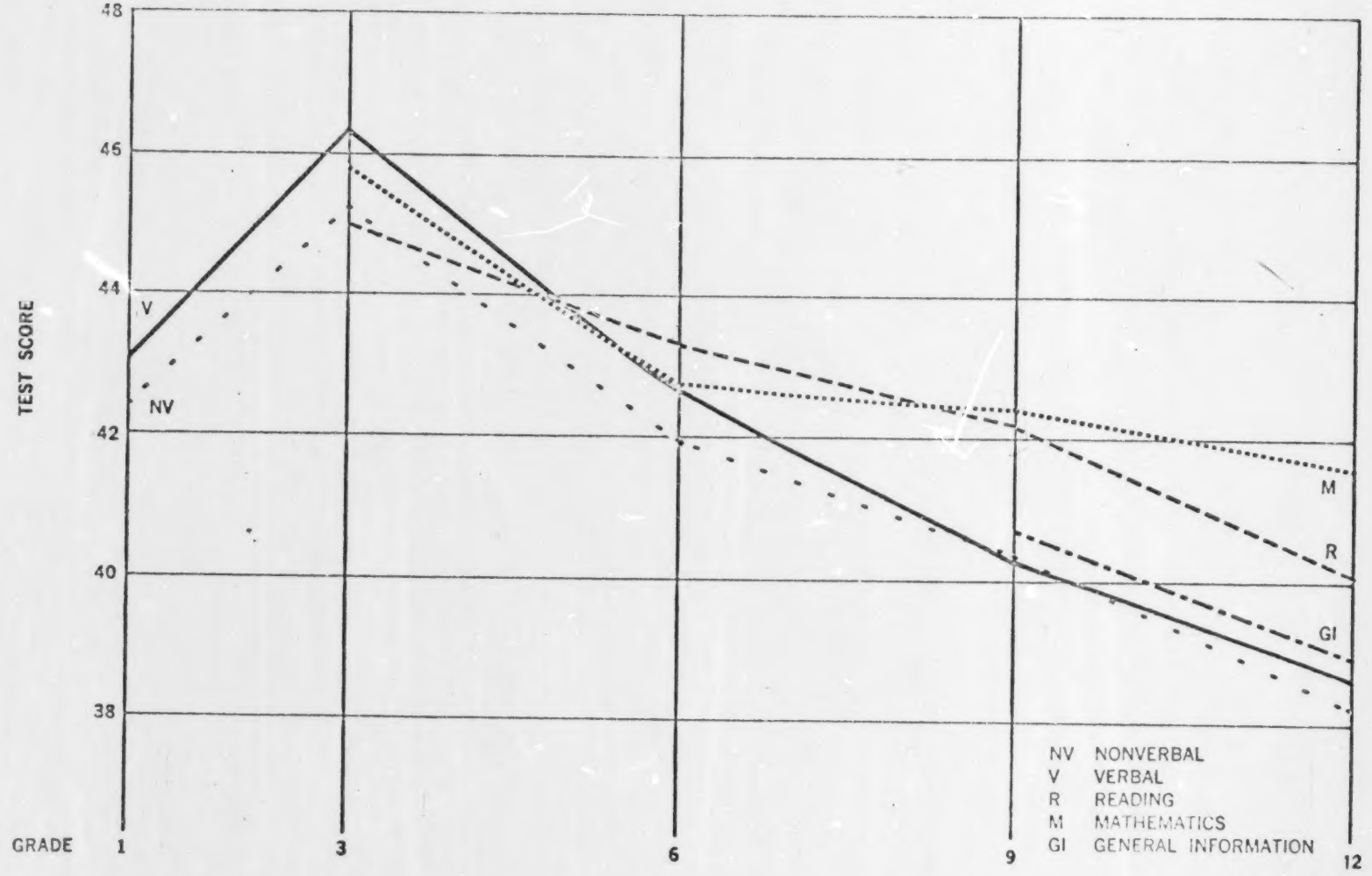


FIGURE 3.12.4
*NEGRO PUPILS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS – SOUTHWEST REGION*

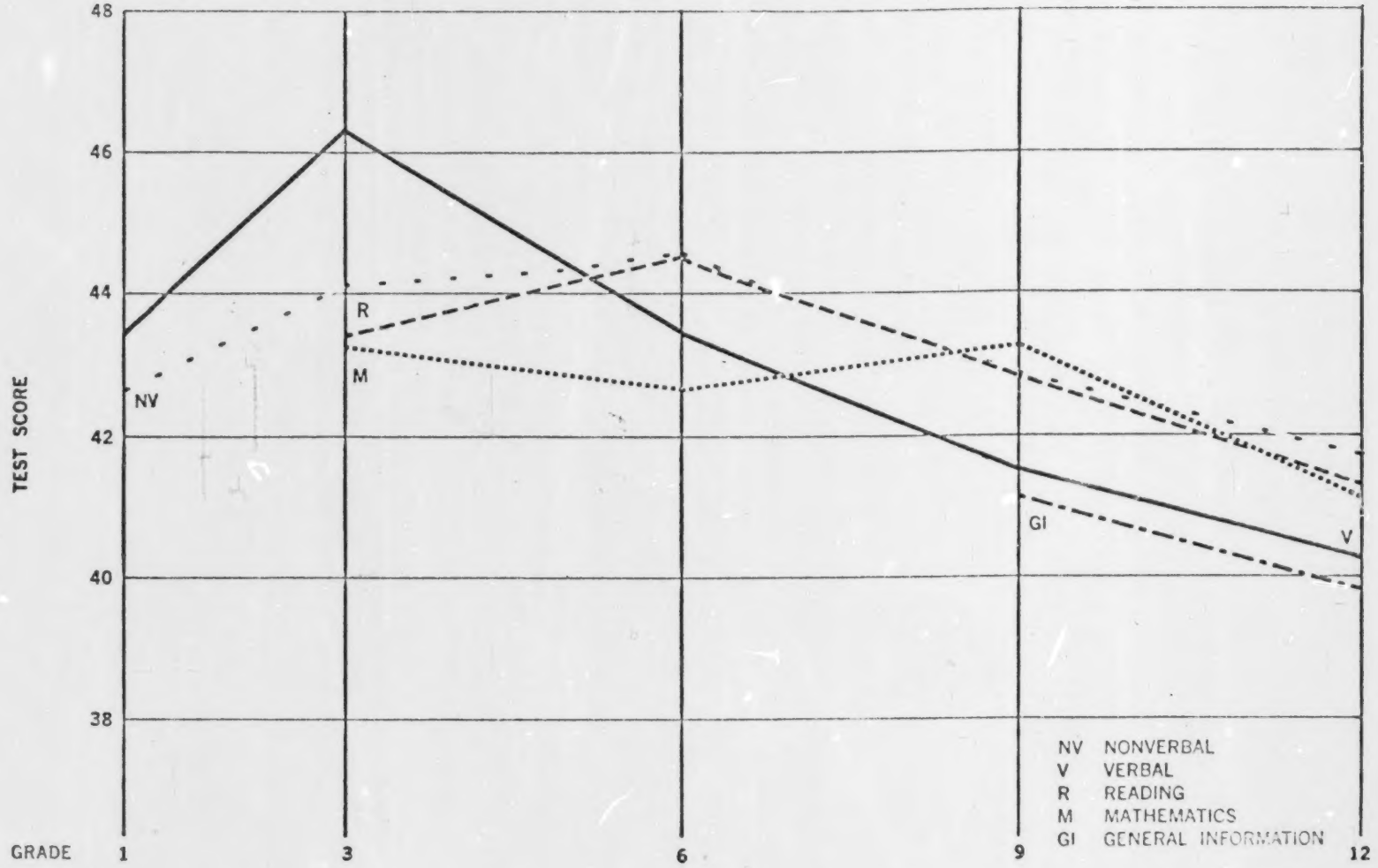


FIGURE 3.12.1

*NEGRO PUPILS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS--NORTHEAST REGION*

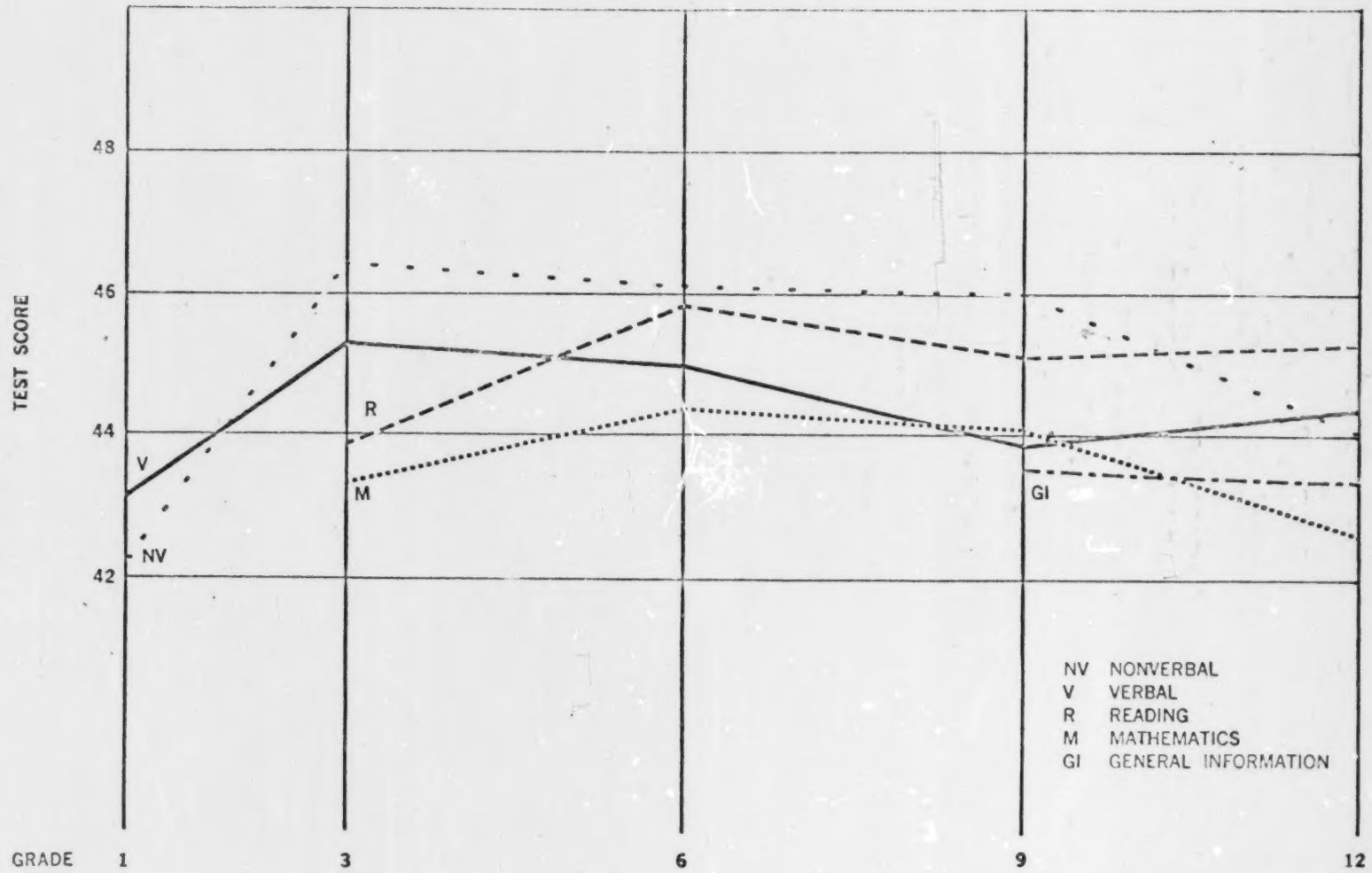
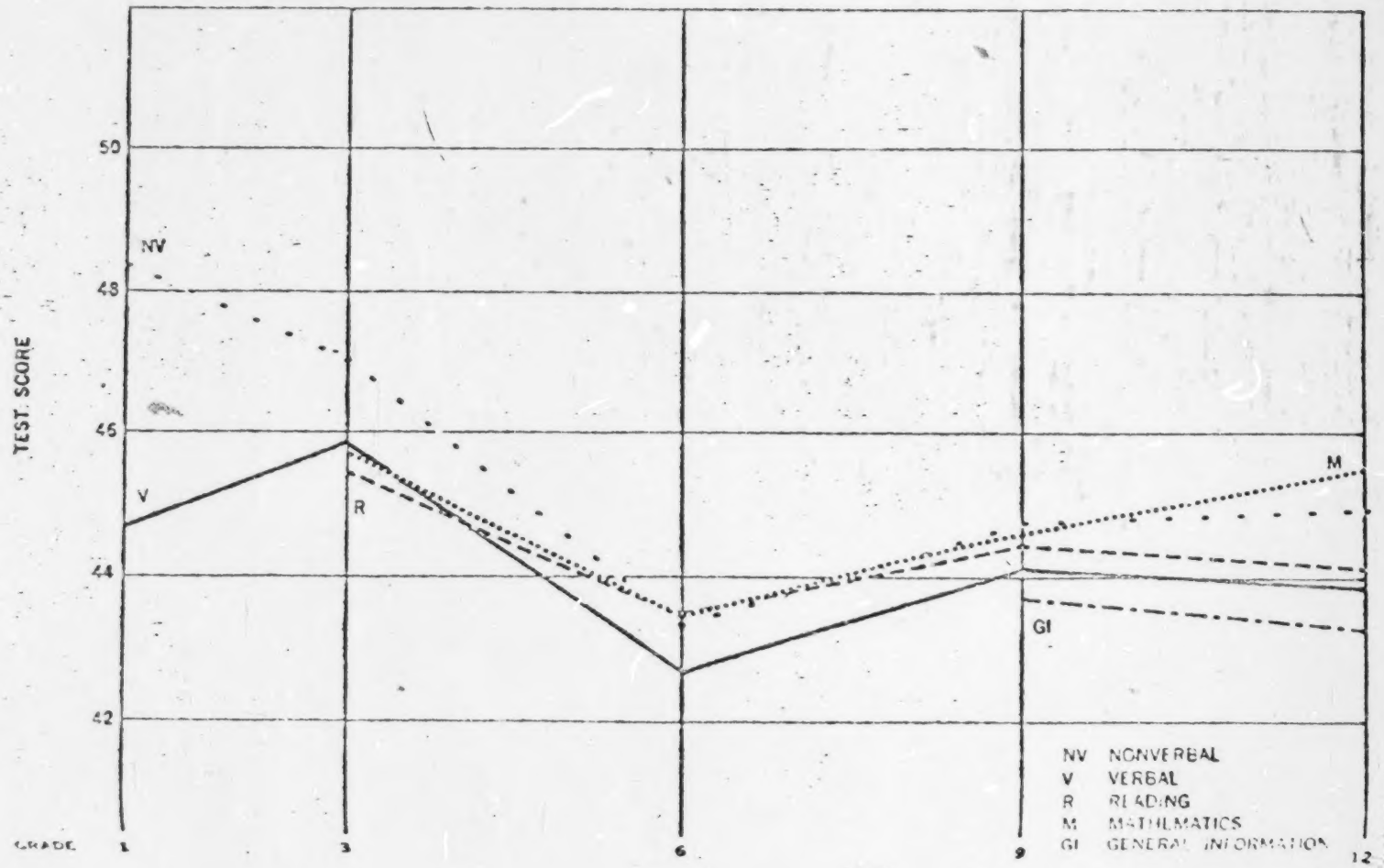


FIGURE 3.12.17
MEXICAN AMERICANS—TOTAL



NEGRO PUPILS IN NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS -- NORTH AND WEST REGION

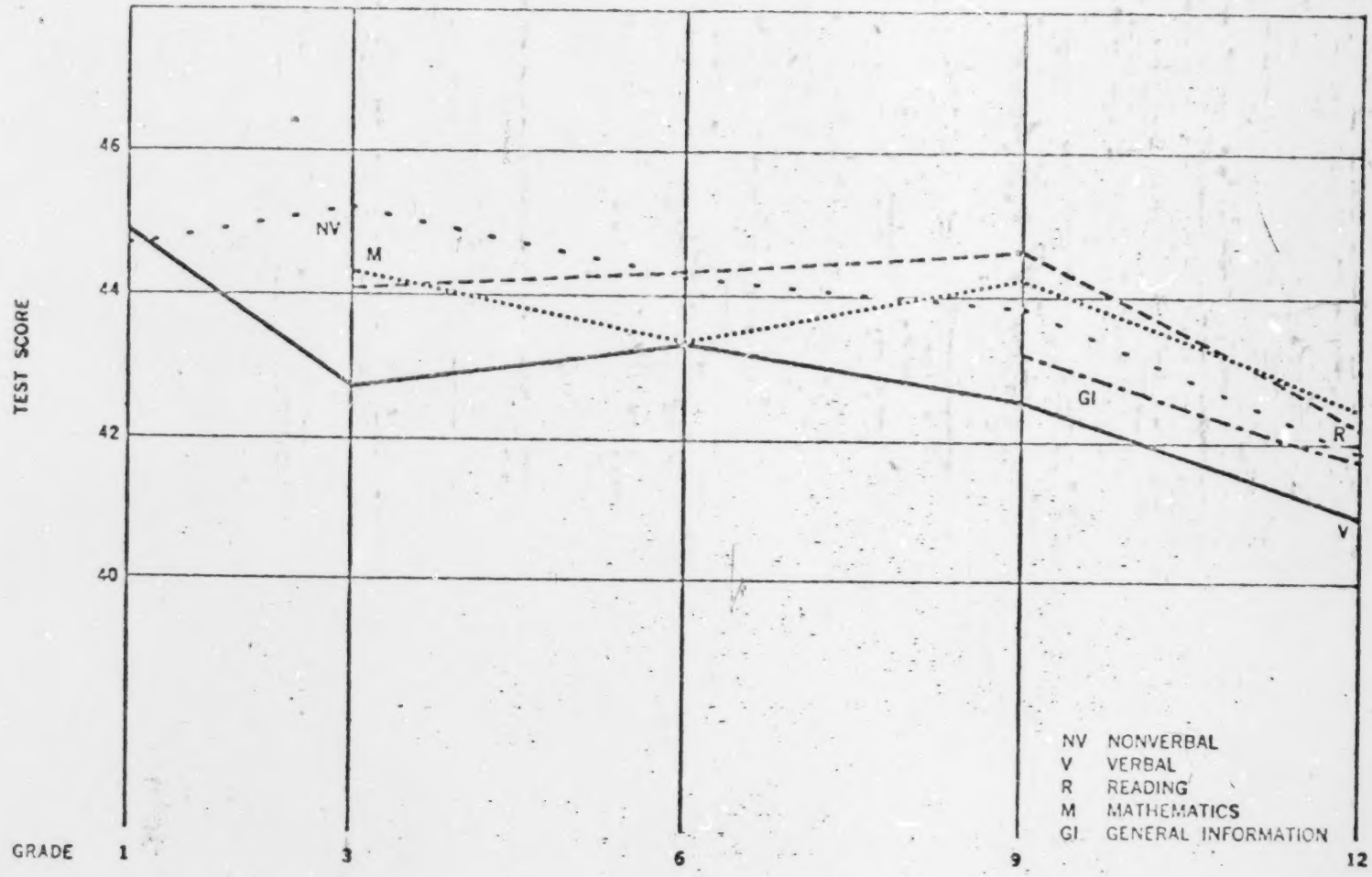
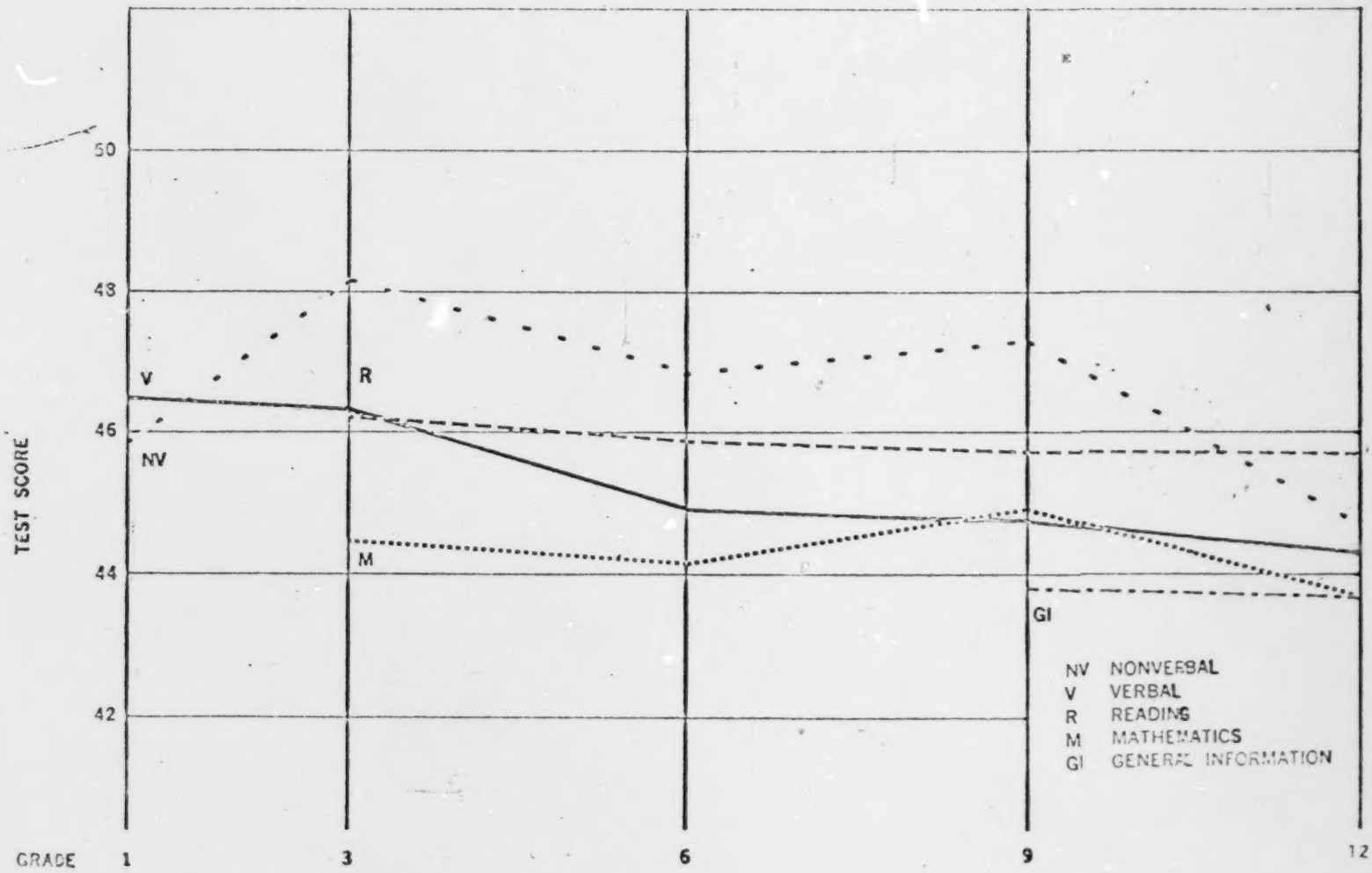


FIGURE 3.12.2
NEGRO PUPILS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS – MIDWEST REGION



I might suggest that a pilot study of some kind of SAT-Verbal with small control and experimental groups be made. The experimentals could have audio and video situations presented to them and then be asked to verbalize about them. And the range of situations presented for analysis need not be limited to the cognitive. Why cannot there be analytical questions asked about propaganda, persuasion, literature, self-expression of groups and individuals? However, even if the skills tested are the same as are presently being tested, why must the test practically be in a foreign language for some groups? Inductive inferences, deductive inferences, finding facts in written materials, observing cause and effect relations between events, classifying, discerning parts of a structure and describing them, evaluating--all of these skills are possible to test at much lower levels of vocabulary difficulty.

The final component of the predictability process is the job market. The present tests are valid predictors for job hiring in large part for the same reasons that they are for the college experience. Since, in many cases, the college degree is the ticket to the job, the bias operating at the college entrance door is carried through to the economic level. Verbal ability in a written culture thus creates and maintains a caste or slave society in which certain strata are almost predetermined from the first reading tests given in elementary grades. Certainly this is not true of any one given individual, but it is largely true of certain groups.

Kendricks' questioning of the wisdom of testing nearly all college training by written verbal tests can also be extrapolated to the job hiring situation. Indeed, if other than written verbal abilities were actually used in many job hirings, the hiring process might benefit as much as the instructional classes in the college could by using varied norms and extricating itself from a demonstrably limited teaching technique.

So at each stage of the predictability process: precollege, the admissions tests, the colleg experience, and the job hiring situation there are some strategies that might be at least tried before we settle down to the predetermined conclusion foreseen by Kendricks--our selective colleges will automatically become segregated institutions.

(The preceding was a paper delivered at the Conference on College Composition and Communication, April 5, 1974, Anaheim, California)

## FOOTNOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY


1. S. A. Kendricks, "The Coming Segregation of Our Selective Colleges," College Board Review, No. 66 (Winter, 1967-8), 6-12.

2. See, for details of and the rationale for the readability test used G. Harry McLaughlin, "SMOG Grading--A New Readability Formula," Journal of Reading, No. 12 (1969), 639-646.

3. James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966), p. 274.

4. For details of these levels, see Marjorie Seddon Johnson and Roy A. Kress, Informal Reading Inventories (Newark, Del.: International Reading Association, 1965).

5. Texas Education Agency, 1971 Texas Achievement Appraisal Study (Austin, Texas: 1972), p. 16.

6. Kendricks, ibid., p. 8.

7. See William H. Angoff, ed., The College Board Admissions Testing Program: A Technical Report on Research and Development Activities Relating to the Scholastic Aptitude Test and Achievement Tests, (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971), p. 92.

8. Both Jensen and Coleman report that Blacks consistently tend to be one standard deviation below other groups.

9. See, for example, Kendricks' study, p. 8.

10. See The Texas Senate Interim Committee on Public Junior Colleges, The Open Door, OR THE Revolving Door: Which Way Texas? (Austin, Texas, 1973), Table III, p. 1c.

11. Kendricks, p. 7.

12. Charles W. Morris, Signs, Language, and Behavior (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946), p. 75.

13. James Moffett, Teaching the Universe of Discourse, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), Chapter II.

14. For the full definitions and rationale behind these distinctions, see James L. Kinneavy, A Theory of Discourse (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971).

15. Martin Joos, The Five Clocks (New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967).

16. Kendricks, p. 9.

17. Kendricks, p. 10.

18. Kendricks, p. 10.

19. Kendricks, p. 11.

20. Kendricks, p. 6.

21. Coleman, pp. 252 ff.